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AUTHOR Helm, M.
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ABSTRACT

Traditionally, education has been expected to both promote equality of opportunity and provide workers for the labor market. In Australia, increasing youth unemployment has led to a greater emphasis on education's function of enhnacing student transition into the work force. There has been an upsurge in work experience programs and incorporation of career information into the curriculum. Yet an increase in vocationally oriented education may not provide a basis for personal enrichment in later life or upward mobility for those who are economically disadvantaged. In fact, the education system by itself can do little to alleviate youth unemployment, and by cooperating with industry's demand for increased unnecessary credentials for low level jobs, it may be contributing to a misallocation of manpower. The major contribution schools can make regarding employment is to improve the quality of employees for existing jobs and to assist in matching skills and aspirations of students with available jobs. Schools can also play a significant role in the development of appropriate values and attitudes. Because the future may bring increased leisure time and attempts to increase employers' responsiveness to the needs of employees, schools should develop students' recreational skills and help them learn to have influence over their jobs. (Author/JM)

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SCHOOLS AND WORK

DISCUSSION PAPER No1.

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EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

This paper was submitted by Dr D. Mossenson at a session of the Australian-New Zealand Education Conference held in Wellington, New Zealand, on 31 January 1978. The Conference, composed of Ministers and Directors-General, followed a meeting of the Australian Education Council in Auckland.

The paper was written by Mr M. Helm, an Education Officer of the Research Branch, in consultation with an *ad hoc* Departmental committee comprising Mr L.W. Louden and Dr N. Hoffman, Director and Assistant Director of Educational Services; and Superintendents Mr M.J. Angus (Research), Mr K.H. Catterall (Guidance) and Dr I.E. Fraser (Planning)

FOREWORD

At successive meetings held during the past two years members of the Australian Education Council have given considerable attention to the relationship between schooling and work. This paper has been part of this continuing discussion.

Much of the Australian Education Council reflection over this issue has dealt with attempts to bring State and Federal Departments of Education and Employment closer together and with debates over the degree of numeracy and literacy exhibited by school leavers. On the question of standards in the basic subjects, the Education Department of Western Australia has issued several policy papers and continues to stress the importance of seeking the highest levels of performance from all pupils.

There is, however, another side to the question. Education systems seek to achieve many important goals of which absorption of students into the labour market is one. This paper gives consideration to outcomes of schooling in addition to its manpower function. It also draws attention to criticisms which have been made of schemes for career preparation which are being implemented in schools.

While the paper does not represent Departmental policy, I suggest that it be read and considered in conjunction with other reports relating to the important question of transition from school to work.

D. Mossenson

DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF EDUCATION

ABSTRACT

Youth unemployment is a disturbing phenomenon which has emerged in the 1970's. It has led to a number of initiatives in Australia to enhance transition of students into the work-force.

This paper makes special mention of the traditional expectations of education in facilitating equality of opportunity and providing workers for the labour market. It questions whether more vocationally oriented education will provide opportunities for personal enrichment in later life or for upward mobility of those who are economically disadvantaged.

It concludes that the education system by itself can do little to alleviate youth unemployment, and through the process of "credentialism" may be contributing to a misallocation of manpower.

The major contribution which schools can make towards employment is to improve the quality of employees for those jobs which exist and to assist in matching skills and aspirations of students with available jobs.

There has been an upsurge in recent years in work experience schemes and incorporation of career information into the curriculum. However, it would be unwise to expect these programmes to be very effective in alleviating youth unemployment.

The most significant role which schools can play is the development of appropriate values and attitudes through general education.

Two recent developments in the labour market which have implications for education are increasing leisure time and attempts to make work more

responsive to the needs of employees. The paper proposes ways in which schools may prepare people to take maximum advantage from these developments.

CONTENTS

Section		Page
1	THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM	1
2	NATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN CAREER PREPARATION	2
2.1	O.E.C.D. Review	2
2.2	A.E.C. Working Party	2
2.3	Williams Committee	3
2.4	National Career Education Conference	3
2.5	Curriculum Development Centre	4
2.6	Schools Commission	4
3	THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL IN THE PREPARATION OF STUDENTS FOR WORK	4
4	EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY	4
4.1	Does the formal education system enhance social mobility?	5
4.2	Should success in the post-school setting be measured by economic criteria?	5
4.3	Will vocationally-oriented education widen individual employment opportunities?	6
4.4	What provision can be made to cope with technological change?	6
5	MANPOWER REQUIREMENTS	7
5.1	Demand for labour	7
5.2	Long-term labour requirements	7
5.3	Special needs for job creation for youth	9
5.4	Manpower allocation	10
5.5	The contribution of schooling to productivity	11
6	HOW THE EDUCATION SYSTEM CAN HELP	11
7	OUTPUTS FROM EDUCATION AND TRAINING	12
8	THE ROLE OF GENERAL EDUCATION	13
9	CAREER PREPARATION	17
10	EDUCATION FOR LEISURE	18
11	EDUCATION AND HUMANIZATION OF WORK	19
12	CONCLUSION	21
	REFERENCES	22

1. THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

Renewed interest in formal education as a preparation for employment has arisen in the seventies among industrially advanced Western societies affected by economic recession. Increasing unemployment of young people is a new phenomenon and is especially disturbing because of the damaging influence of prolonged unsuccessful job searches on the self esteem of school leavers. A 1976 meeting of the National Training Council[1] highlighted the fact that the unemployment rate was highest for 15 to 19 year olds and had risen over the past decade independently of the state of the economy (A.E.C., 1977, p1).

The urgency of this problem has resulted in a high degree of co-operation between Commonwealth and State Government departments responsible for education and for employment. Examples of this co-operation are the functioning of the National Training Council and the establishment of the Commonwealth/State Working Party on the Transition from School to Work or Further Study. The latter is referred to in Section 2.2.

To some extent this concern with education for work is taking the form of a reaction against general education, which is perceived as emphasizing individual development, the development of the whole person, and schooling as an intrinsically worth-while experience and not merely a preparation for life in the future. This reaction has taken two major forms in recent years - scepticism by some educationists and employers about the effectiveness of the education system in developing basic skills of numeracy and literacy; and pressure for greater opportunities to be made at school for career awareness of students.

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1 The National Training Council comprises representatives of employers, unions and Commonwealth and State education and labour departments. It was established by the Commonwealth government to advise on training needs in industry.

A major study of literacy and numeracy in Australia has revealed significant deficiencies among a minority of students attending normal schools (Keeves and Bourke, 1976). While it is highly unlikely that there has been a sudden decline in academic standards, this study has highlighted areas where improvements should be made. The bulk of this paper, however, will focus on the general question of transition from school to work, referring to literacy and numeracy only as it relates to this overall question.

Prior to that discussion, a brief summary of the major national developments in school/work transition in Australia will be given.

2. NATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN CAREER PREPARATION

Consideration of the transition from school to work has taken the form of the following investigations into Australian education:

2.1 O.E.C.D. Review

A committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development conducted a review of the transition of young people from school to work in Australia in 1976 as one of a series of reviews on education policies in member countries. The committee produced a report entitled *Australia: Transition from School to Work or Further Study*. Some of its conclusions were that the needs of early school leavers were largely neglected, and that although more 16 and 17 year olds were staying on at school, they were unlikely to obtain worth-while vocational training during that extra time at school.

2.2 A.E.C. Working-Party

In 1974 the Australian Education Council established a working-party to investigate employment of school leavers. The working-party published its report, *Transition from Secondary Education to Employment*, in June, 1976.

The report stated, *inter alia*, that career guidance in Australia ranges from being inadequate to non-existent, and called for the encouragement of work experience programmes.

In 1977 the Council prepared a consolidated statement of initiatives being taken to combat youth unemployment. The statement discussed the causes and magnitude of youth unemployment and reviewed and recommended the extension of a number of programmes to alleviate it. These programmes were said to be based on the view that

> school systems ... cannot create jobs where none are available. However, initiatives are being taken in regard to more specific factors related to employers' lack of preference for young people as employees because of a lack of commitment and an ignorance of "the world of work" (A.E.C., 1977, p1 of Summary).

As a result of the O.E.C.D. review, the Council recommended the establishment of a working-party representing Commonwealth and State education and labour departments to develop proposals for action. The first report of this working-party was published in October, 1977. Its main recommendations were that existing programmes of career education and assistance to the unemployed be evaluated, and that the working party develop proposals for transition to work or further study.

2.3 Williams Committee

In 1976 the Commonwealth Government established a Committee of Inquiry into Education and Training under the chairmanship of Professor B.R. Williams. The committee will review the links between the education system and the labour market, with particular reference to post-secondary education. A report from the committee is not expected for some time.

2.4 National Career Education Conference

The first national conference was held in May, 1977, organized by the Career Education Association of the Australian Capital Territory with a grant

from the Curriculum Development Centre. The conference consisted of addresses and workshops. Issues which arose at the conference included the need for a definition of the purposes and limitations of career education, a review of current practices, and co-ordination of career activities within and outside the school.

2.5 Curriculum Development Centre

The National Career Education Conference prepared a submission to the Curriculum Development Centre, its main recommendations being that a national advisory committee on career education be established by the Centre and that research into career education be encouraged. The Centre is likely to establish an advisory panel on career education in 1978.

2.6 Schools Commission

Comments on transition from school to work have been made in various reports of the Commission, but the Commission felt that a more informed contribution would result from preparation of a discussion document to stimulate further analysis. The resulting paper, *School and Work*, was published in September, 1977. It asserted that faith in the supposed benefits of career education may be unwarranted.

3. THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL IN THE PREPARATION OF STUDENTS FOR WORK

In examining the role of the school as a preparation for work, consideration will be given below to two major concepts with which educationists have traditionally been concerned. These are equality of opportunity and manpower requirements.

4. EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

It has been widely accepted that the school has a role to play in developing students' latent abilities to the maximum in order that they may experience the most rewarding activities in the post-school setting in

general, including the field of employment. A number of questions may be asked about the effectiveness of schools in achieving this objective. These questions will be considered below.

4.1 Does the formal education system enhance social mobility?

In recent years a large amount of literature has promulgated the belief that, far from providing for upward social mobility of all students, schools promote students from relatively advantaged socio-economic groups. In Australia this issue was taken up by the Fitzgerald Report (Commission of Inquiry into Poverty, 1976, p 138) which stated that children from poor families are least likely to complete secondary education. Furthermore, jobs which were once available to those who had not completed the full secondary course are now reserved for those possessing at least the final secondary certificate. The absence of opportunities for adults to resume their education means that entering the labour force with low educational qualifications leads to disadvantagefor life.

Proposals for educational reform are numerous, but there appears to be a widely held view amongst reformers that the education system should provide a greater variety of opportunities which would enable students to develop according to their individual abilities and aspirations. Such a viewpoint, if adopted, would have significant implications both for education and employment.

4.2 Should success in the post-school setting be measured by economic criteria?

Of late there has been increasing questioning of the work ethic and criticism of traditional work procedures. A growing number of young people seem to be asking whether it is worth-while to spend the most productive part of their time at work which is seen as unsatisfying in order to enhance their economic status and thus become socialized into a lifestyle which places greater emphasis on material possessions than on self-fulfilment.

If it is conceded that a choice of alternative lifestyles should be available to people, then the school should play a role in making students aware of choices available to them rather than concentrating upon socializing students for future employment.

4.3 Will vocationally-oriented education widen individual employment opportunities?

There has been an emphasis in past years on moving to the highest levels of education possible in order to obtain certificates which would be *de facto* tickets to higher-paying employment. In this decade the number of jobs which would utilize the skills of graduates from post-secondary education has been vastly outstripped by the number of students graduating. Major outcomes of this process have been a diversion of resources to those (higher) levels of education which are producing an oversupply of labour; a consequent concentration on theoretical rather than technical skills; and elevation of the aspirations of many students in ways which cannot be fulfilled in available employment.

Solutions which have been proposed include greater emphasis on inculcating technical skills of more practical relevance, and channelling of students into school programmes oriented towards sequential development of these skills. However, the need for students to pick the right specialization years in advance of their leaving school is not only risky in times when jobs are both scarce and changeable but would also result in premature typecasting of children into pre-ordained career oriented tracks.

4.4 What provision can be made to cope with technological change?

Sufficient attention has been given to the fact that the astounding rate of technological change in modern society will make many people's jobs redundant during their working lives. Sudden changes of this nature can adversely affect people's employment and their social and economic positions. This must be taken into consideration when education programmes are devised.

Suggestions which have been made to enable people to cope with technological change are provision of lifelong education and emphasis on a liberal education which would enable students to discern "what is general in what is particular and what is permanent in what is transitory" (Hutchins, 1968,p95).

5. MANPOWER REQUIREMENTS

In addition to the role of education as a potential vehicle for individual social mobility, the education system plays a major role in the provision of trained manpower. Numerous studies have been made of the benefits to society flowing from investment in "human capital". These benefits will only ensue, however, if demand for labour is sufficient to absorb the supply of manpower, if the labour market is capable of allocating manpower in such a way that maximum output is obtained from resources which are employed and if workers are paid in accordance with their contributions to the economy. Consideration will be given below to the extent to which these factors operate.

5.1 Demand for labour

The major cause of youth unemployment is not lack of training but lack of jobs. The report, *Transition from Secondary Education to Employment*, for instance pointed out that initiatives in combating unemployment among school leavers must be made in the areas of economic recovery and job creation policies. School programmes cannot solve the unemployment problem but can only help to rectify imbalances between demand and supply for particular occupations. The next section deals with employment prospects in the long term.

5.2 Long-term labour requirements

The prolonged nature of Australia's current unemployment crisis leads to the consideration whether it is a temporary departure from a long-term

norm of high employment or whether we are moving towards a new plateau of acceptable unemployment. A number of writers have suggested that, owing to technological change, rates of unemployment higher than those which have occurred in the majority of post-war years will become the norm in future. Others are less pessimistic. Future employment possibilities lie somewhere within the following scenarios suggested by Johnston (1972):

(i) Continual displacement of workers by increasingly sophisticated machinery. With supply of goods ensured by automation, desire for material affluence would be displaced by concern for psychic and social enrichment.

(ii) Maintenance of a full employment economy brought about by, *inter alia*, the generation of demand for a variety of occupations to service automated machinery, increased reliance on labour-intensive work to combat the undesirable spillovers from production and consumption, and national commitment to reasonably full employment.

(iii) Continued application of automated machinery accompanied by sustained demand for work, with more paid work directed towards personal and recreational needs.

Australia would appear to be unlikely to return to its position in the past where the average level of unemployment was far lower than that of many other advanced industrial economies. Consideration may thus need to be given to the distribution of employment opportunities. Possibilities include

(i) Maintenance of current patterns of hours worked per employee, with introduction of selective patterns of recruitment, established on a needs basis.

(ii) Reduction of average hours worked per employee in order to enable sharing of employment opportunities.

(iii) Lowering of the retiring age. (ii) and (iii) could be implemented on either a compulsory or voluntary basis.

(iv) Greater opportunities for employees to take leave, including unpaid leave.

(v) Stimulation of labour intensive industries, particularly in the government and service sectors of the economy.

(vi) Creation of jobs for young people. This will be discussed in detail in the next section.

(vii) Increase in retention rates in the education system.

(viii) Acceptance of the fact that employment opportunities are insufficient, and continuation of government financial support to enable the unemployed to live in dignity.

(ix) More stringent definitions of unemployed persons which would affect priorities in job allocation and provision of financial support.

These reforms would be adopted outside the education system. This highlights the limited role which schools can play to relieve youth unemployment.

5.3 Special needs for job creation for youth

A recent O.E.C.D. report (1977a) raised a number of reasons why special efforts should be made to reduce youth unemployment. They are that failure to enter the workforce could leave permanent scars, deprive young people

of the opportunity to develop appropriate work habits and attitudes, drive them to deviant behaviour and political radicalism and inhibit renewal of the work force essential to future development.

The major forms of job creation are provision of employment at a regular workplace, or institution of special public projects. The former includes quota systems and subsidies to employers of youth. Employment at the regular workplace contributes to the well being of unemployed youth and is thus a useful short-term measure. Labour-intensive public projects include special places in the Public Service and humanitarian, recreational or social service activities. While the latter are useful if they satisfy a real need in the community and enable employment for youth who would otherwise experience difficulties, they lack the permanency of regular jobs.

5.4 Manpower allocation

Attention has been drawn to the growth of "credentialism" whereby employers have raised the educational requirements for jobs which have in fact changed little (O.E.C.D., 1977b, p19). This has the effect of wasting resources and causing personal unhappiness to those overqualified for jobs, disadvantage to those adequately but not over-qualified and shortages of people in lower prestige courses of study. Payment to workers on the basis of qualifications rather than productivity is blunting the traditional function of the labour market to allocate labour in the interests of maximum efficiency.

An alternative to this development is a de-emphasizing of post secondary education in favour of technical education. This alternative ignores the fact that students undertake post-secondary education for a variety of reasons, including the need to develop a better perspective of themselves and the world. In addition, it has been noticed in the United States that there is a trend of falling enrolment in higher education by youth from

lower and middle class families and, if this trend continues, higher education may revert to its original elitist nature. It would thus appear to be more desirable to try to change the demands of employers in this regard than to make a substantial change in the structure of education.

5.5 The contribution of schooling to productivity

In the 1950's, economists discovered that economic growth could not be explained entirely by increases in land, labour and capital. It was concluded that improvements in the quality of the labour force brought about by education largely comprised the unknown variable contributing to economic growth. Schooling thus influences an individual's productivity, although it is difficult to isolate the specific contribution which it makes to productivity. It is unlikely that its greatest potential contribution lies in training of skills relevant to specific jobs since skills for most occupations are learned relatively easily and quickly. More probable is the view that the development of transferable cognitive and motor skills and of norms and attitudes which takes place in general education, represents the most effective role which the school can play in the interests of future productivity of students. This is discussed further in Section 8.

In concluding this section, it is apparent that, while schools play an important role in providing skilled manpower, a more efficient manpower system than we are currently experiencing would require changes in the labour market to a greater extent than in the education system. The contribution which schools can make is discussed in the next section.

6. HOW THE EDUCATION SYSTEM CAN HELP

The education system can assist the transition of students into work and assist in alleviating youth unemployment by three major means, namely:

(i) Regulating the flow of students into the work force.

(ii) Preparing students for work through general education.

(iii) Developing schemes of vocational preparation such as industrial training and work experience schemes and provision of career information and counselling.

These three measures will be considered respectively in the following three sections.

7. OUTPUTS FROM EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Education and training institutions regulate the flow of workers into the workforce in the following ways:

(i) The existence of a legal school leaving age.

Although leaving age is governed by statute, it is likely that demand for education is the major influence upon extended schooling. While the existence of a legal leaving age is of value in that it prevents premature departure of students from disadvantaged groups, raising the leaving age in order to retard entry into the work force is not an acceptable option because of its potentially damaging effects on students who do not wish to remain at school but are forced to do so. Many educationists are now suggesting that the leaving age be reduced, and in Western Australia students obtaining suitable employment are permitted to leave prior to the statutory age.

(ii) Retention in secondary schools.

As mentioned above demand for education influences students to remain at school. In recent years retention rates in Australian schools have been rising. This is deferring entry to the work force but for many students the additional years of schooling now attended are superfluous in terms of the demands of the work they will obtain.

(iii) Increased entry to post-secondary education.

This has also been a factor in deferring entry to the labour market. However, a belief held by some students that only post-secondary education can lead to satisfying employment has led to an over-supply of the highly educated.

(iv) Government training schemes for unemployed youth.

When implemented during periods of youth unemployment, such schemes can take some pressure off the labour market in the short term. Longer term benefits ensue if such schemes lead to a greater match between unfilled job vacancies and skills and aspirations of trainees.

8. THE ROLE OF GENERAL EDUCATION

Many skills needed at specific work places are usually learnt on the job, although schools are becoming involved in training in these skills mainly through work experience schemes. This section will consider the main contribution which general education in primary and secondary schools can make in preparing students for employment.

In order to ascertain the expectations of employers concerning the output of the education system, the Education Department of Western Australia commenced a research project in 1977 jointly with the Department of Education at the University of Western Australia in which approximately 350 employers were surveyed. Questionnaires were used for larger employers and small employers were interviewed. A survey of youth employment programmes has revealed that this is the only investigation of this type being undertaken in Australia (Office of Youth Affairs, 1977).

When asked what qualities they looked for in school leavers, the 284 enterprises completing the questionnaire answered in the following manner:

	All enterprises	Private employers	State Government	Commonwealth Government
1. Positive willing attitude	130 (60%)[2]	98 (65%)	11 (31%)	10 (56%)
2. Appearance	77 (35%)	58 (39%)	13 (37%)	1 (6%)
3. Satisfactory education	70 (32%)	45 (30%)	19 (54%)	2 (11%)
4. Manner	66 (30%)	47 (31%)	10 (29%)	2 (11%)
5. Aptitude/potential	38 (17%)	28 (19%)	5 (14%)	5 (28%)
6. Ability to communicate	29 (13%)	15 (10%)	5 (14%)	3 (17%)
7. Home environment	20 (9%)	17 (11%)	2 (6%)	0

Employers, however, did not see school leavers as measuring up to these expectations, particularly in terms of attitudes. This is shown from their responses when asked what were the major areas of improvement needed by school leavers. Their answers were as follows:

	All enterprises	Private employers	State Government	Commonwealth Government
1. Attitude	93 (43%)	74 (49%)	10 (29%)	5 (28%)
2. General verbal skills	84 (38%)	55 (37%)	18 (51%)	3 (17%)
3. Personal presentation (appearance)	62 (28%)	50 (33%)	8 (23%)	3 (17%)
4. General number skills	49 (22%)	40 (27%)	7 (20%)	0
5. General vocational preparation	52 (24%)	29 (19%)	8 (23%)	7 (39%)
6. Communication (speech)	38 (17%)	26 (17%)	6 (17%)	1 (6%)
7. Personal presentation (manner)	28 (13%)	23 (15%)	3 (8%)	0

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2 Percentages in this and the next two tables were given of the total number of employers responding. Because replies were on a free response basis many employers gave more than one reply; and the percentages thus total more than 100.

Attitude was defined in terms of a positive approach to work and included qualities such as enthusiasm, self-discipline, application, industriousness and general motivation. Respect and courtesy towards others, particularly seniors, was seen as another important quality in the school leaver's general approach to the work situation.

Employers, however, did not feel that development of appropriate attitudes was the sole responsibility of the school. This was seen when they were asked what changes they would like to see in the content or emphasis of teaching in schools. Their answers were as follows:

	All enterprises	Private employers	State Government	Commonwealth Government
1. Basic skills, particularly English	50 (23%)	29 (20%)	12 (34%)	3 (17%)
2. More job-oriented content	49 (22%)	35 (23%)	6 (17%)	6 (33%)
3. Develop more positive attitude to work	30 (14%)	22 (15%)	5 (14%)	1 (6%)
4. More vocational guidance for students	26 (12%)	20 (13%)	4 (11%)	2 (11%)
5. No changes desired	8 (4%)	4 (3%)	1 (3%)	0

Discipline, responsibility, courtesy and a greater effort at work were the most frequently mentioned attributes that employers would like to see developed to establish a more positive attitude to employment. They pointed out that the home had an equal responsibility with the school in the need to develop these attributes.

A number of recent empirical studies in the United States have analysed the affective attributes inculcated in educational institutions, and those attributes perceived to be important at work. These are referred to by Bowles and Gintis (1976, pp 133-141) and examples of two studies are given below.

A Boston study compared supervisor ratings of performance of workers with personality measures of the same workers. Personality traits which were found to correlate positively and most significantly with supervisor approval were perseverance, dependability, consistency, identification with work, empathizing of orders, punctuality, deferral of gratification, predictability, tact and temperamental disposition. Significant negative correlations occurred for creativity and independence. In order to investigate the link between personality development in school and job requirements, a study of New York high school students revealed personality traits rewarded or penalized, as measured by average marks controlling for scores on general cognitive tests. It was found that rewarded personality traits were perseverance, dependability, consistency, identification with school, empathizing of orders, punctuality, deferral of gratification, external motivation, predictability and tact. Traits penalized in school were creativity, aggressiveness and independence. Assuming generalizations can be made from these studies, schools play a very substantial role in developing and screening personality characteristics required at work. While educators pay lip service to the need for students' self-fulfilment, and thus implicity to values which include independence and creativity, these may be inconsistent with the idea of schooling as a preparation for employment.

An extensive survey of British employers recently revealed that employers looked for willingness, tidiness and a good grounding in the three R's among school leavers rather than specific educational qualifications (*The Times Educational Supplement*, 8/7/77, p6). The evidence mentioned above supports the contention of Blaug (1973, p53) that the vocational function of education lies mainly in value training and not in the area of cognitive knowledge.

9. CAREER PREPARATION

Career education has become one of the fastest growing educational innovations in the last few years.[3] It is based on the belief that education has been inadequate in preparing students to enter the work force, and this can be improved by integrating work skills into the curriculum, arranging work experience for students, and providing employment information and vocational guidance. Such programmes have increased in Australia, and they are summarized in a publication of the Office of Youth Affairs (1977).

These developments have not occurred without reservations by a number of educationists. A major assault on the idea behind them was made by Grubb and Lazerson in the November 1975 issue of *Harvard Educational Review*. The authors commenced by cataloguing the criticisms which have traditionally been directed against vocationally oriented education. These are that it has failed to solve economic and educational problems, has not been attuned to labour market conditions, has used antiquated methods and equipment, has encouraged tracking of lower-class children into low status vocational programmes, and has failed to solve problems such as poverty, unemployment and alienation against which it has been directed.

Current developments are seen by the authors as being based on assumptions that work will continue to be valued, that career education will enhance worker mobility, that unemployment is largely due to a mismatch between workers and jobs, and that bringing students into contact with the world of work will give them more realistic aspirations. Respective answers

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3 This claim was made by Binyon (1976, p7). He pointed out that it was not clear what constituted career education since its proponents had not agreed on a single definition of it. Binyon saw it as including experiences incorporated into standard syllabuses, special provision of career information and work experience schemes.

given to these assumptions by the authors are that the moral benefits of work are unlikely to counteract the aimlessness generated in many jobs, that entry to promotional positions is becoming more rigid, that normal unemployment is now at a relatively high level, and that the existence of disproportionate benefits to the highly qualified will continue to encourage a scramble for places in higher education.

An extensive study by the Educational Products Information Exchange in the United States concluded that a substantial number of career education materials contained stereotyped sex roles. Moreover the Council on Inter-Racial Books for Children found that minorities were often stereotyped in appearance and behaviour in career education products (*Phi Delta Kappan*, 1976, p427). A correspondent to a later edition of *Phi Delta Kappan* (1976, p226) stated that the career educationists represented

> a pernicious, reactionary viewpoint: that the young are defined as employees; that their principal preoccupation must be with becoming "marketable"; that all education should be deformed to accomplish these authoritarian goals.

Great uproar has arisen over the charges made by Grubb and Lazerson and it would be widely acknowledged that their conclusions were extreme. The warnings of critics of career-oriented education, however, should have a salutary effect. While it can enable better preparation for the realities of work and encourage students to take advantage of available opportunities, it cannot be expected to be a panacea for economic and social ills.

10. EDUCATION FOR LEISURE

In addition to the accepted role of the school in providing some preparation for future employment, changes which have been taking place in the nature of employment have introduced additional responsibilities which may be accepted by the education system. Two major responsibilities will be

considered in the remainder of this paper. They are concerned with the trends toward greater leisure and re-organization of jobs.

If numerous writers are correct we can look forward to a future when workers will experience increasing amounts of free time. While, according to Toynbee, "the creative use of leisure ... has been the mainspring of all human progress" (Hutchins, 1968, p132) free time may be abused by some people and, in the case of unemployment, be seen by others as bearing a loss of self respect. The school may thus have a role to play not only in preparing people for employment but also in encouraging constructive use of the leisure time which will be experienced by workers. The development of recreational skills could be a responsibility of schools. Adult education is also likely to be heavily involved in future in developing leisure activities.

11. EDUCATION AND HUMANIZATION OF WORK

There has also been a growth of concern about alleged dissatisfaction experienced by workers as a result of work processes in modern economies. Specific criticisms were well summed up by Grubb and Lazerson (1975, pp 465-466) as follows:

> the particular jobs available in advanced capitalist economies lack the moral qualities attributed to work generally. In fact, most work is boring. Its unvaried routine, the simplicity of most tasks, and the constant supervision characteristic of hierarchical settings all deny workers a sense of competence and a feeling of responsibility. Because their roles in the production process are so small and the products they produce are so often superfluous and trivial, workers have little sense of accomplishment. They are denied a sense of connectedness with their fellow workers and the rest of the economy because they are systematically isolated from one another and because personal relations are mediated by impersonal market relationships.

Suggestions by numerous writers to reform the nature of work have been based on employees' needs for self-esteem and self-actualization and their capacity for self-motivation and self-control. Changes in the structure of

the workplace and the design of jobs to cater to these needs and capacities have occurred both in the interests of increased productivity and to improve the quality of working life.

Schools could have a particular contribution to play in the humanization of work. In the United States, a special task force to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare produced a report in 1973 entitled *Work in America* which drew attention to dissatisfaction caused by work in today's society and to the need for re-designing jobs. The authors stated that although job re-design was a major means of making work more satisfying, it could not solve problems such as unrealizable work expectations which were brought about by the credentialling process of schools. They saw educational policy as the most appropriate solution to job dissatisfaction of this nature.

They suggested that career education is based on the idea of schooling as an investment that will yield future earnings, displacing the conception of education as a preparation for life which includes marriage, citizenship and other social functions. Noting the similarities between education and industrial systems, the authors felt that satisfying education would be the best preparation for satisfying work. The reforms needed in education, they stated, can be learnt from criticisms of the contemporary work place. They include removing the necessity of punching a time-clock, increasing the autonomy of the worker [or student] enlarging tasks and reducing rigidities.

Chanan (1976) has suggested that schools have a narrow and static concept of work - that instead of seeing work merely as a job for which we are paid, or only that part of man's activity which is recorded in the labour market, we should regard it as all activity which must be undertaken to sustain life.

Schools then should prepare students for such activities as running a house, bringing up children, participating in community life, and perhaps providing to some extent for their own self-sufficiency. Education should also prepare students to do a job, survive in it, consider its function in society and exert influence to change it. It follows that schools should develop skills in many activities which are not part of the labour market. This preparation would differ from the traditional "work experience" in which students are given the feeling of being "cogs in vast impersonal machines over which they have no influence".

The education system thus needs to look squarely at its potential role in preparing people to help to change their environments to coincide with human aspirations. It should not merely attempt to fit people into the existing social and industrial structure.

12. CONCLUSION

The 1960's saw the emergence in both industrial relations and education of a wide range of reformers seeking to make work and education more responsive to the needs of individuals. By now, economic realities have caused a swing of the pendulum in favour of the work ethic and education for jobs and it would be unfortunate if the present reaction is so far reaching that we put aside the genuine and constructive criticisms of work and education made in the past by the less extremist of the reformers.

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